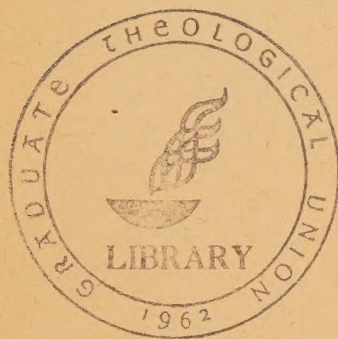


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THEOLOGIA FENNICA IV

is now appearing in English. Nos. I to III were issued in German and the first two are out of print but of No. III copies are still available. This organ of Finnish theology should give information to the whole world but exceptional conditions have prevented it from appearing regularly every year, as was intended. Theologia Fennica III contains an article by Prof. Martti Ruuth on Research into Church History in Finland in 1900—1942 and No. IV — now ready — contains an article by Prof. Osmo Tiililä on the development of Finnish Systematic Theology during the past hundred years. A survey of the achievements of Exegetic Research during the last fifty years has been published in Swedish by Prof. Rafael Gyllenberg in "Svensk exegetisk årsbok (Swedish Year-Book of Exegetics) No. IX, 1944. For the most recent development of Finnish theology, the articles by Professors Aarre Lauha and Aimo T. Nikolainen listed in the bibliography of this journal can be consulted which also records the publications in other languages which, for some reason or other, were not included in the corresponding list of Theologia Fennica III or have appeared later.

Editor: Lennart Pinomaa, DD. Prof., Metsolantie 14, Helsinki.

To Mr. & Mrs. H. J. Munson,

December 30, 1949,

Thankfully,

Osmo A. Tiilikainen

A Hundred Years of Systematic Theology in Finland.

by Prof. Osmo Tiilikä D.D. Helsinki.

The history of theology in Finland has developed mainly as in other Lutheran countries. The orthodoxy of the 17th century was here too an interesting progressive period in systematic work. The 18th century was characterized on the one hand by rationalism and supra-naturalism and, on the other, by a certain tension due to sporadic pietistic tendencies. In the beginning of the 19th century important new trends followed the appointment of A. A. Laurell as Professor of Dogmatics and Ethics in 1836. Until then theologians in Finland had been greatly influenced by Kant and Hegel; Laurell entered upon his theological career as an ardent Hegelian. He said that his study of Hegelian philosophy lasted ten years; then, he said, he required another ten to release himself from Hegel! He seems to have been influenced by Schleiermacher's principal work, "Der christliche Glaube". Christianity cannot be interpreted in terms of one-sided moralistic or aesthetic-idealistic views; it is a religion the essence of which is Redemption in Christ. The philosophical orientation of the first half of the century then recedes to make room for one more theological. F. L. Schauman's dissertation "De fundamento fidei" (1837) similarly emphasizes the independence of theology and here the new positive theology definitely starts from the basis of historical revelation. Schauman to some extent approached reprobation theology. Lars Stenbäck's dissertation "De principiis quibus innituntur ecclesia et theologia christiana" (1844) appeared in Swedish in 1847 under the title "Om Kyrkans

och theologiens principer" (Principles of the Church and Theology) and emphasizes the importance of the formal and material principles of Lutheranism in theology. These works probably show the most important stages from the old rationalism and supra-naturalism with its negative attitude towards life to an ecclesiastically fruitful theology. The study of Stenbäck reminds us of the decisive importance of the Pietism in Savo and Pohjanmaa (not to be identified with German Pietism) as a source of inspiration of our theology; this popular religious movement will be more closely described later.

Exactly one hundred years ago a man became a teacher at the University of Helsinki whose contribution to our systematic theology was far greater than that of any predecessor. It may be said that the life work of *A. F. Granfelt* alone raised Finnish systematic theology to the level in form and matter reached in other, more important, countries after Schleiermacher. Granfelt became Assistant Professor in 1848; in 1854 Professor of Dogmatics and Ethics in which post he remained until he resigned and was given the title Emeritus in 1875; after this his theological production continued until his death in 1892.

Of the theological schools of the 19th century Granfelt approached most closely the so-called "mediating theology" (*Vermittlungstheologie*) of which H. Martensen and J. A. Dörner were representatives in other countries. Conciliatory by nature Granfelt tried to reconcile Christianity and culture, also faith and reason in general, without attempting a colourless compromise. He was deeply convinced that Christianity satisfies all requirements of thought and experience and that, on its basis, a consistent philosophy of life is possible. Granfelt's large theological production may be divided into four groups besides short publications for special occasions. First are those to obtain qualification as a teacher of the University: *Diss. theol. observationes circa originem et indolem indulgentiarum ecclesiae Catholicae*

exhibens (1845); Diss. theol. observationes circa notionem cordis humani biblico-psychologicam exhibens (1847); Promissio Dei Abrahamo data (Gen. XII v. 3) e textu explicata et ad historiam Israeliticam relata (1849); "Försök till besvarande af frågan: beror Guds inkarnation af menniskans synd eller icke?" 1853 (Attempt at Answering the Question: Does Divine Incarnation Depend on Man's Sin or not?). The second group are those in which he describes his attitude to "the theological right wing", to use a term applied by G. G. Rosenqvist; i.e. his attitude to the viewpoints put forward by the religious revival movements of the time, both as regards man's relation to God and Christian ethics. Among these works were: "Det kristliga lifvets vilkor och väsende" 1847—58 (Conditions and the Essence of Christian Life); "Om nådens ordning jemte kritik öfver Herrar Ingmans och Hedbergs i detta ämne vexlade Stridskrifter" 1855 (Of the Order of Salvation and a Criticism of the controversial Articles of Mr. Ingman and Mr. Hedberg on this Subject), "Ytterligare om nådens ordning. Bihang N:o 1—2" 1856—57 (Further Studies of the Order of Salvation. Appendix 1—2), and two booklets dealing with dancing "Dansen betraktad från kristlig synpunkt" 1857 (Dancing from a Christian Aspect), "Ännu ett ord om dansen" 1858 (Further Words about Dancing). The same group may be said to include an earlier work "Försök till utredning af begreppen auktoritet och auktoritets-tro jemte dermed sammanhängande frågor" 1846 (Attempt at Clarifying the Concept Authority and Belief in Authority and related Questions). These works of Granfelt are quite symptomatic of the many discussions that have since taken place in systematic theology in Finland. During the last hundred years the Church of Finland has held, as it were, a peculiar position among Lutheran churches because our revival movements have given rise at times to very heated discussions on the essence of Lutheran Christianity, the doctrine of justification. What is the relationship

of the so-called "hungering or longing faith" and "possessing faith", faith as the stating of the forensic decisive event and faith as communion with Christ, or, to state the thing somewhat baldly, faith in the thing and faith in the person; what is the relation of being "declared righteous" in theory and a real life in Christ, etc? What are "certainty of salvation" and "testimonium Spiritus Sancti"? The fact that Granfelt took up these questions indicates that even then theology in Finland was trying to establish a vital contact with the Church. Here Granfelt's work was that of an mediator between extreme tendencies and he tried to do justice on the one hand to the revelation given us in the Bible, on the other, to the Lutheran Confession and Christian experience. His attitude towards the Confession was in no way servile. — The aims of the mediating theology ("Vermittlungstheologie") appear also in Granfelt's third group of works, although he here holds a very firm opinion against a wrong kind of liberalism. This was the "theological left wing". Carl v. Bergen — a rationalist representing the religious reform tendencies of the 1880's — had arrived at Helsinki from Stockholm; against him, as well as other belittlers of the Christianity of that time, Granfelt wrote his work "De första offentligt af finske män emot kristendom och kyrkolära riktrade angreppen" 1884 (The first Open Attacks by Finns against Christianity and the Doctrine of the Church); "Herr Dr. Carl von Bergens i Helsingfors hållna föreläsningar öfver 'framtidens kristendom'" 1884 (Lectures on "future Christianity" delivered in Helsinki by Dr. Carl von Bergen); "Apologetiskt och polemiskt I—II" 1885 (Apologetic and Polemic). In these works Granfelt nobly fought for the biblical view of Christianity. — This group would perhaps include also Granfelt's sensational participation in the discussion on the Atonement which had arisen in Sweden chiefly as a result of O. F. Myrberg's appearance. Granfelt wrote three booklets on the doctrine of the Atonement: "Om

försoningen i Kristus" 1882 (The Atonement in Christ), "Ännu en gång om försoningen i Kristus" 1885 (More on the Atonement in Christ), and "Slutord i försoningsfrågan" 1886 (Concluding Words on the Question of Atonement). His opinion approaches that of v. Hofmann and it was not considered orthodox. This discussion is a Scandinavian parallel to the controversy v. Hofmann — Thomasius and Philippi in Germany. It deserves notice that Granfelt describes his relation to P. Waldenström's theory of Atonement, though he does not approve of it. What connects him with Waldenström, as well as with Myrberg and v. Hofmann, is that he starts absolutely from the love of God. He does not want to look on the Atonement from a juridical and quantitative point of view, but from a religious and ethical. — The fourth group of Granfelt's production is, however, the most important. It includes the positively important chief works of his manhood: "Den kristliga dogmatiken" (Christian Dogmatics), three editions 1861, 1870, 1880; "Om den kristna trons väsen" 1863 (On the Essence of Christian Faith); "Den kristliga sedeläran" 1872—73 (Christian Ethics), and "Den biblisk-kristliga läran om de yttersta tingen" 1879 (The Biblical and Christian Doctrine of Eschatology). The first two publications show their author's systematic talent, the third in addition his exegetic interests — he occupied temporarily the chair of Exegetics. Granfelt's dogmatics resembles in many essentials that of Martensen, and in the preface to the first edition of his work the former expressly acknowledges this intimate relationship, stating that his lectures on dogmatics for nearly ten years have been based on Martensen's work. Yet this has not prevented an independent, well reasoned treatment of the material. Granfelt's work is more extensive than Martensen's. The intellectual kinship of the two theologians is clearly evident also in their moral teaching. The whole of Granfelt's work on ethics antedated Martensen's, but the introductory part of the latter appeared

one year before Granfelt's work. When the Swedish translation of it was published in the same year as Granfelt's extensive work, the latter welcomed it in his preface, expressing his delight that readers thus had an opportunity to study deeply questions which well supplement his own writings. A special feature in the relationship of these two theologians is that Granfelt, in his ethics, represents socially and politically a wider democratic opinion.

Questions of a general nature are central to all these four groups of works. It seems as if nothing that is human was unfamiliar to Granfelt. He published articles on various subjects in two collections "I tidens frågor" (Questions of the day) totalling over 1000 pages, in 1871 and 1876. Questions dealt with by the Diet, the relationship of the Church and State, social wrongs, the language question (Finnish and Swedish) so much discussed in Finland, the alcohol problem, foreign missions, the development of natural science at that time, Church discipline, etc., are considered in these as well as central theological problems. Granfelt was a theologian of note not only because of his professional competence but also because of his versatility. It should be noted that his Dogmatics was in optional use in academic studies in Finland and Sweden far into the 20th century, although in many respects it was naturally antiquated.

In the systematic theology of Granfelt's time four other men chiefly deserve attention, namely *Alfr. Kihlman*, *C. G. v. Essen*, *A. W. Ingman*, and *A. J. Hornborg*. Kihlman is remembered in Finland essentially as the man who first acquainted Finnish theologians with the theology of J. T. Beck of Tuebingen which has since been of great influence here. It is true that Kihlman himself did not remain a faithful Beckian until the end of his life; on the contrary, he was a restless spirit who in his old age still sought clarity in Ritschl's ideas. His most important work is a very critical

study of the question of baptism (1861). v. Essen became Professor of Practical Theology but his Professor's thesis "*Om bikt och avlösning*" 1867 (Of Confession and Absolution) belongs equally well to the field of systematic theology. As to confession, v. Essen opposed institutionalism and considered a "brotherly confession" the right form. The work is largely a study of Luther. Ingman's special field was exegetics but a considerable part of his production touched upon dogmatics. His controversy with Fr. G. Hedberg, the leader of the so-called "evangelical" movement (not to be identified with the "evangelical movement" in the Anglican Church), concerning the doctrine of justification was remarkable and so was his interpretation of Luther on that doctrine. Ingman, as well as v. Essen, can be regarded as the first student of Luther in newer Finnish theology. During the years 1864—70 he wrote reports of six investigations in which he represents the line of a kind of "making righteous" (Beck's influence), against a one-sided forensic doctrine of justification, in places even approaching Osiander. Of interest is his theological and historical review of the development of clerical education (The Dean's Invitation to the Installation Lecture of G. Johansson 1877), in which he defines his attitude to the theological schools of his own time. Characteristic is a resolute adherence to a positive biblical theology and, on that basis, an opposition to Schleiermacher's opinions. Of the men mentioned in this group Ingman is theologically the most remarkable, a productive writer on many subjects and a personality of great national importance. — A. J. Hornborg's work "*Om stridigheterna i vår tid angående rättfärdiggörelsen af tron*" 1871 (On the Controversies of our Time concerning Justification through Faith) shows considerable theological talent. The problems it discusses are also affected by the controversy aroused by Beckianism (Beck, Myrberg, Ingman) regarding the relation between the forensic and ethical side of justification.

Granfelt was succeeded as Professor of Dogmatics and Ethics by a man who has greatly influenced both the theology and Church life in Finland, *Gustaf Johansson*, the most prominent representative of Beckianism in Scandinavia. Johansson was a profound Christian, a "lonely great" man, but at the same time an immovable fighter. The history of every evangelical country probably contains thinkers and great leaders who, although very influential in their own time, are little noticed by the next generation, but are then "re-discovered". In Finland there is some kind of "Johansson redivivus" in recent years, in spite of the fact that there are still theological circles which do not approve of Johansson at all.

Johansson was so much younger than Beck that the cultural and theological-historical background of his work was different. The latter's youth coincided with the reactionary period following the Napoleonic wars and during his earlier period, before he became so isolated, the problems he dealt with were marked chiefly by opposition to Hegelian rationalism and the inherent emotional conception of religion of Schleiermacher. Beck was already old when those trends became general that Johansson considered most dangerous: modern liberal theology under pressure from the revived natural sciences, materialism and positivism. Ritschlianism deserves special notice; its period of prominence coincided exactly with the post-Beckian period. It became Johansson's task to represent an unconditional loyalty to the Bible among the profane sciences which in many respects arrogantly opposed and criticized Christianity, and among such theological trends as tried to retain their position by means of apology or even by abandoning essential Christian truths. The later production of Johansson especially bears the imprint of this struggle. In the last decades of his life (he died as Archbishop of Finland at an advanced age in 1930) he seldom wrote anything which was not, in one way or another,

directed against the wrong spirit of the time and quite especially against liberal theology.

While Beck, working in a quiet university town, was a meditative thinker, Johansson as a Church leader early came in contact with practical tasks. Beck's theology in many respects remained only principles, particularly on its ethical side; Johansson, as a Church leader, applied his views in practice in many decisions relating to the State and the Church, and this practical side makes Johansson's ethics very valuable. It is well known that Lutheran ethics, notably in social questions, has often been uncertain; its unequalled achievement is the combining of morals and justification, but it has not been easy to translate the personal moral basis found by the individual in righteousness by faith into a solving of common problems and arrangement of conditions in an ungodly world. Johansson has led our people in these matters — not in small details and individual cases — but in the application of great eternal fundamentals of life. His character is also more that of a prophet and a preacher than of an investigator, but as such he is a theologian deeply influencing the life of his people. A rugged directness, a fundamentally conservative view of life, biblicism, and appeal to conscience were the basic characteristics of his theology.

Johansson was in many ways Granfelt's antithesis. The latter's apologetic policy is not found in the former; although he gives a long list of famous scientists who have not become alienated from their religion, he does this not in the least as argument for the spiritual truths presented. Due to his biblicism he did not admit that any rationalistic or other factors connected with the cultural questions of the day influenced the contents of faith decisively. "To Schleiermacher God is not the Father of Jesus Christ, nor is Jesus the Son of God. He has a Moravian sentimentalism and Spinoza's rationalism" (*Christian Dogmatics*, p. 50). Johansson is categorically opposed to the attempts of speculative

philosophy to unite human thought and Christian faith and he defends the authority of the Bible against all rationalism and "modern" theology. "God's thought creates all of itself, but human thought is powerless. It cannot create a blade of grass. Therefore the origin of all life is a secret to human reason. The rationalist's God is only the end of a chain of thought and he that attributes divine glory to such a being is an idolater" (Christian Dogmatics, p. 18). "God's truth is absolute. As such it does not change or develop, it is what it is: it is before all and above all" (Ibid. p. 98).

Johansson's theological production is extensive. His academic dissertations dealt already with systematic theology which was to be his real field of work, although he later began to study exegetic questions also, chiefly in connection with his years of work on the new Bible Translation Committee, and came into contact with practical theology in connection with the revision of Church Manuals. The dissertations were: "Pantheismens inflytande på de dogmatiska grundbegreppen i R. Rothes speculativa theologi" 1875 (The Influence of Pantheism on the Fundamentals of Dogmatics in R. Rothe's Speculative Theology), and "Det kristna samvetsbegreppet och dess historik" 1876 (The Christian Concept of Conscience and its History). Johansson's chief systematic works, based as late as 1924—1925 on old lectures, were "Kristillinen uskonoppi" (Christian Dogmatics), "Kristillinen siveysoppi" (Christian Ethics), and an extensive popular work on dogmatics, "Pyhä uskomme" 1897 (Our Holy Faith). Of his other works may be mentioned some studies of our religious movements — the most important are "Laestadiolaisuus" 1892 (Laestadianism) and "Pelastusarmeija", Swedish ed. 1889, Finnish 1890 (The Salvation Army) to both of which movements he took a negative stand; articles on religious questions of the day and topical theological points of doctrine, for example "Kirkollisia kysymyksiä", Finn. 1894, Swed. 1895 (Questions of the

Church) in which he explains his doctrine of the Church, "Mietteidä Suomen luterilaisen kirkon asemasta" 1890 (Thoughts on the Position of the Lutheran Church in Finland), "Muistutuksia vanhurskauttamisoppiin" 1892 (Comments on the Doctrine of Justification), "Muistutuksia suomalaisen virsikirjakomitean ehdoitukseen" 1884 (Comments on the Proposals of the Finnish Hymn Book Committee); a very weighty collection of devotional books (four volumes of sermons and one of daily devotional readings) with a clear doctrinal basis; and finally an interesting book of memories of A. W. Ingman (1927).

Being influenced by Beck's doctrine of the Kingdom of God, the theology of Johansson was markedly eschatological in character. In this light he saw the current struggle of spirits: liberal theology and sects. The world matures in its wickedness. Johansson's critical attitude towards the Archbishop of Sweden, Nathan Söderblom, in whom he saw — not only a syncretist — but also one who denied Christ's physical resurrection, aroused attention also outside Finland. His opposition to the Ecumenical Conference of Life and Work in Stockholm 1925 is chiefly due to his eschatological view: disregarding the unity of faith, the ecumenical movement, in his opinion, tries only to improve human well-being. It is not looking towards Christ's second coming. In addition, he was offended by the fact that the meeting was attended by rationalists who denied the divinity of Christ.

Theology in Finland to-day is reviving interest in Johansson. In doing so it acknowledges his prophetic personality whose theology was, in a way, rooted in the transcendental and regards him as a visionary whose pessimistic view of the development of humanity has hitherto proved tragically true.

Johansson's close circle of friends included some other "Beckians" of Finland who also worked, at least partly, in the field of systematic theology. *O. I. Colliander*, actually a rep-

representative of practical theology, wrote a work called "Grunddragen af det bibliska kyrkobegreppet" 1882 (Principles of the Biblical Conception of the Church), while *Eero Hyvärinen* wrote on God's determinate counsel of Grace. *J. A. Mannermaa*, who won most appreciation in the field of exegetics, and the commentator of Revelation, *Feliks Lujanen*, were the most important among the later theologians who continued *Johansson's* work.

Johansson had to clarify his attitude towards Ritschlianism — especially *Harnack* he criticized severely — but the settling of theological controversies in greater detail fell to the lot of the younger generation. His successor as Professor, *G. G. Rosenqvist*, first deserves our attention — being a theologian whose personality was in many respects different. *Johansson* was brought up with the religious life of the common people and — like *A. W. Ingman* — he combined the resulting impressions with a Beckian biblical realism. *Rosenqvist* was a philosopher and a student of cultural ethics. Coming from the Swedish-speaking population of Finland he had not the same possibilities to influence the great majority of the people as had *Johansson* before him and *Antti J. Piitilä* after him. But as an independent thinker he worthily represented the university and obtained remarkable results. As he wrote in Swedish he became better known abroad than the theologians who wrote in Finnish.

Rosenqvist's work has been characterized by his son, Prof. *G. O. Rosenqvist*, as follows: "As one of the first in Finland *Rosenqvist* tried to treat the historical conception of the Bible seriously and he was for a free, but at the same time positive, interpretation of the Bible and traditional religious values. Christianity was for him — this he stressed repeatedly — not primarily a collection of dogmas or of various cults or traditions, but the work of God in history, a new beginning from eternal reality which carries all history and all reality. At the same time he was deeply conscious of the temporary

character of each interpretation of the Christian faith. He had a severely critical attitude towards Ritschl. In his opinion this writer's theology denied the transcendental character of Christianity. If the religious life of the Christian is to be interpreted correctly it is impossible to neglect metaphysics, he pointed out, in this agreeing with Wobbermin: Christian faith presupposes a metaphysical reality and can never — without losing its intrinsic nature — be reduced to a purely psychological event. In view of the religious conditions in Finland, characterized on the one hand by the strong naturalistic tendencies of the 1880's and, on the other hand, by a one-sided — though real — religious life, Rosenqvist was untiring in his fight against an "anti-religious culture" and an "anti-cultural religion". He also emphasized energetically the ethical side of faith and took a great interest in social questions" (*Ekklesia* II, 8, p. 138 s.).

The theological situation had changed between Granfelt's and Rosenqvist's time. If Rosenqvist had lived about forty years earlier he would probably have belonged to the school of the "mediating theology". G. O. Rosenqvist continues his description of his father as follows: "He constantly returned to the problems of knowledge and belief, morals and religion. In numerous works and articles he described the current cultural, social, and political problems in the light of the religious and ethical principles of Protestantism. It has been said that his theology was definitely "contact-seeking" and his thinking was of the "Christian cultural" type" (*Ibid.* p. 139). Just these aims can be discerned in Granfelt; the principal difference seems to be that Rosenqvist was much more interested in philosophy. He really started his theological career by writing "*Lotzes religionsfilosofi*" 1889 (*Lotze's Philosophy of Religion*). He dealt with related subjects in two of his earlier works, "*Guds förhållande till världen*" 1893 (*God's Relation to the World*) and in "*Den filosofiska grundvalen för Albrecht Ritschls teologi med särskild hänsyn*

till förhållandet mellan Ritschl och Lotze" 1902 (*The Philosophical Basis of Albrecht Ritschl's Theology with special reference to the Relation between Ritschl and Lotze*). Rosenqvist's interest in metaphysics which appears in these writings and also in his chief theological work, "Religionsproblemet" 1927 (*The Problem of Religion*), separated him from the so-called 'theology of Lund', a fact which may be symptomatic also in view of later theology in Finland — though the latter has not had many points of contact with Rosenqvist's. One of Rosenqvist's favourite sayings was that of Wobbermin: "theology without metaphysics is unthinkable."

Rosenqvist's works on cultural ethics are: "Moderna strävanden för etisk kultur" 1904 (*Moderns Strivings for Ethical Culture*), "Kristendom och humanitet" 1895 (*Christianity and Humanity*), "Skilsmässan mellan kyrka och stat" 1916 (*The Divorce of Church and State*), "Statskonst och människovärde" 1919 (*Statecraft and Human Value*), "Den sociala frågan och socialismen" 1923 (*The Social Question and Socialism*); works that belong more to dogmatics: "Nattvardstvänet" 1903 (*Communicating Compulsory*), "Reformer på det religiösa området" 1917 (*Reforms in Religion*), "Statskyrka, frikyrka, folkkyrka" 1920 (*A State Church, a Free Church, a National Church*), "Alkoholfrågan, ett svårlöst problem" 1925 (*The Alcohol Question — a Difficult Problem*), "Striden om en lärobok" 1927 (*Controversy regarding a Text-Book*), "Tro och tanke" 1929 (*Faith and Thought*). On the initiative of Rosenqvist the leading theological publication in Finland, "Teologinen Aikakauskirja — Teologisk Tidskrift" (*Journal of Theology*), was founded. He contributed many articles and most of them are included in his "I tidens religiösa frågor I—V" (*Theological Questions of the Day I—V*).

While Rosenqvist was criticizing Ritschl, a new generation of theologians grew up among the Finnish-speaking po-

pulation whose leader, *Erkki Kaila*, was much more sympathetic towards Ritschl. Among the systematic theologians of Finland Kaila is one of the most interesting personalities, continuing to develop until the end of his long life — quite contrary to his uncle, Johansson, in whose theology no "periods" can be distinguished. In Kaila's youthful works a tension between the influence of Beck and that of Ritschl is observed. The latter seems to have dominated for a time — an example of this and of impressions from Schleiermacher is Kaila's famous paper on the Atonement in 1907 — but towards the end of his life he became more and more an advocate of a positive traditional conception of faith.

Kaila also started from the philosophy of religion; his thesis was "*Bidrag till utredning af det kristliga kunskapsbegreppet*" 1895 (Contribution to the Analysis of Christian Knowledge) and all his life he took a keen interest in philosophy. A proof of his wide knowledge in this field is his work "*Oppikirja uuden ajan filosofiassa*" 1900, revised 1911 (Text-Book of the History of Modern Philosophy). His pessimistic conception of history accounts for his deep interest in Spengler. Again, Kaila had the spirit of a theological encyclopedist: he wrote on the history of religion, the psychology of religion, the relation between natural sciences and Christianity, and on Catechism; as Bishop and statesman he wrote for the benefit of Churchmen in Finland surveys of current tendencies having regard especially to secularism. Of Barth he was very critical from the first. This is understandable particularly in view of his life-long interest in mysticism — he translated Thomas à Kempis from the original. Towards the end of his life he became more interested in exegetics than in systematic theology: he published a series of commentaries on the New Testament. During his long life he wrote on many special subjects. The following are reviews or surveys: "*Nykyaikaisia liikkeitä katolisessa kirkossa*" 1908 (Modern Movements in the

Catholic Church), "Kirkko nykyisenä kriisiaikana" 1920 (The Church during the Present Crisis), "Aikojen murroksessa" 1921 (The Current Crisis), "Uskonnonvapauslaki" 1923 (The Law regarding Religious Liberty), "Kristikunnan tila maailmansodan jälkeen" 1927 (Christianity after the Great War), "Kristikunnan kriisi" 1932 (The Crisis of Christianity), "Kristilliset kirkot nykyisessä henkien taistelussa" 1937 (The Christian Churches in the Present Spiritual Struggle) — all books reflecting Kaila's pessimistic view of the development of the Western countries: he was a theologian of "times of crisis". More closely related to systematic theology were his text-books of dogmatics and ethics for schools, and publications like "Augustinus ja hänen aikansa" 1903 (Augustine and his Time), "Soveltuuko kristinusko nykyiseen maailmankuvaan?" 1906 (Is there Room for Christianity in the World to-day?), "Luonnontiede ja uskonto" 1908 (Natural Science and Religion), "Sovinto-oppi" 1908 (The Doctrine of Atonement), "Jeesus Kristus, vastaan ja puolesta" 1909 (Jesus Christ, for and against), two collections of lectures on the history of religion (1907—1908), and a text-book of history of religion (1915).

Two of Kaila's contemporaries who also held important positions in the Church and were leaders of Finnish theology were the Church historians *Jaakko Gummerus* and *Martti Ruuth* who contributed much to systematic theology, especially through their studies of the history of dogmas and of theology. The former gave us "Die homousianische Partei bis zum Tode Constantins" (1900), and "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buss- und Beichtwesens in der Schwedischen Kirche des Mittelalters" (1900), the latter his studies of Luther (1916, 1917, 1922). Ruuth directed the interest of researchers to the Church revival movements whose religious views have greatly occupied systematic theologians in Finland. He also wrote on the history of theology in Helsinki before Granfelt's time. Gummerus' predecessor as Professor

of Church History in the University of Helsinki was *Herman Råbergh* who wrote a History of Theology in Finland during 1640—1830 (*Teologins historia vid Åbo Universitæt I—II* 1893—1901). *Paavo Virkkunen* also started his theological career as a Church historian (*Die Anfänge des Arianischen Streites* 1904) and he later published some extensive systematic works, e.g. a synthetic outline of the essence of Christianity "*Elämänliike*" 1924 (*The Movement of Life*), and a popular book of meditations containing the main points of dogmatics called "*Mahdoton ja mahdollinen*" 1945 (*The Impossible and the Possible*). This group and generation of theologians includes *Albin Simolin*, a Church historian as well as systematician, whose chief works were "*Livsproblem*" 1924 (*Problems of Life*), "*Teologiska tidsfrågor*" 1925 (*Current Questions of Theology*), and "*Upplevelse och auktoritetstro*" 1938 (*Experience and Belief in Authority*).

The work of *Antti J. Pietilä*, the most important systematician of the 20th century in Finland, brought new influences to the systematic theology of this country. He succeeded G. G. Rosenqvist as Professor of Dogmatics and Ethics. Johansson, Rosenqvist, and Kaila belonged to a critical period in the sense that they had to define their attitude to the liberalism of the 19th century and the rising anti-Church movements, especially the Marxian socialism, and in theology to the problems raised by biblical criticism. Pietilä also belonged to a critical period in that his life's work was done in the uncertainty characterizing theology during the first three decades of this century. At this time the ideas of Ritschl were already passing away in Finland, but the theology influenced by the history of religion and by the psychology of religion was still very much to the fore, though its one-sidedness was beginning to be criticized. There was fresh study of Luther, dialectic theology declared its watchwords, and a return to Kant and Schleiermacher was observed at Lund, which led to the study of religious

"motives" (motivforskning). Pietilä himself was fairly firmly anchored in the theology of the 19th century. He tried to retain what seemed good and permanent in the old theology, particularly in that of Erlangen and of Beck, but at the same time he inwardly sought to be free and unprejudiced in his scientific work. He was conservative and modern at the same time, a man of a transitional period. In all his attitudes there was a serious undercurrent: a sense of truth due to the influence of the piety of the common people and to Laestadius' revival. To him theology was not an interesting intellectual pastime but a matter of life and death demanding an existential relationship to the reality studied.

Pietilä differed from the Erlangen school chiefly in considering that all the details of the theological conceptions should not be drawn from Christian experience but from the Revelation as it is given us in the Bible. The forgiveness of sins experienced by the individual opens the way to the experience of faith of the Church as a whole and this, in its turn, gives an assurance that evangelical tradition about Revelation is right. Pietilä laid much stress on the ecumenical development of Church doctrine implying continuity but also necessitating reform. In fact, reform is a constant need of the Church as current views must always be examined in the light of original revelation. Revelation is not a subjective indefinite guidance of the Holy Spirit as sectarianism believed, not a continual receiving of fresh illumination, but something revealed once for all. In the classical Books of Confessions of the Church he saw the reliable core of doctrine which he was careful and warned others not to jeopardize. "As professing Christians we are not children of yesterday and not vagrants lacking a foundation but belong to the Communion of Saints who from century to century have glorified God for His Holy Word and for the Spirit of Grace constantly active as a life-giving force. The Books of Confessions are the classical literature of the Church

which have not arisen through a whim or chance factors but from force of necessity at an important period . . . All interpretation of the existing Revelation on entirely new lines without any necessary connection with revealed truth as hitherto accepted by the Church, is doomed from the outset to remain unfruitful." (Christian Dogmatics I, p. 418).

Pietilä's biblicism is not weakened by this conception as "the light and life of the Confessions are the light and life of the Scriptures and therefore the former are not factors independent of the latter, let alone opposing it" (Ibid. p. 421). — The Church of Rome is a sect; the tragic shortness of the doctrinal trends of Protestant theology is due to the fact that they are not based on the full tradition of the Christian doctrine nor on the whole Bible, and have not used the full Confession. This attitude made Pietilä to some extent criticize the work of his predecessor, Rosenqvist, who attached too much importance to the philosophy of religion. Yet Pietilä himself in his *Prolegomena* discussed many problems of the philosophy of religion, problems which now — only a few decades later — seem less important.

Among Pietilä's very extensive production may be mentioned his historical study of Daniel Juslenius, a man of note of the 18th century (I—II, in 1907—1910), "*Kristillinen pelastusvarmuus*" 1905, 2nd edition 1928 (Christian Certainty of Salvation), "*Drei Versuchungsgeschichten, Zarathustra, Buddha, Christus*" 1910, "*Taistelu apostolisesta uskontunnustuksesta*" 1912 (The Struggle for the Apostolic Confession), "*Helluntailiike*" 1913 (The Pentecost Movement), "*Kirkollinen oikeaoppisuus*" 1915 (Doctrinal Austerity of the Church), "*Kirkko ja vallankumous*" 1918 (The Church and Revolution), "*Die Entwicklung des Offenbarungsbegriffs seit Schleiermacher*" 1918, "*Jeesuksen siiveysoppi ja nykyaika*" 1918, revised by E. G. Gulin 1935 (The Moral Teaching of Jesus and the Present), "*Russellilaisuus*"

1921 (Russellianism), "Yhteiskunnallinen siveysoppi" 1928 (Social Ethics), "Kristillinen siveysoppi" 1928 (Christian Ethics), "Jumala-uskon perusteet" 1930 (The Foundation of Faith in God), and above all, "Kristillinen dogmatiikka", a work of Christian dogmatics in three volumes which he completed three days before his death in 1932 and which was a very welcome gift to theology and the Church of Finland. As editor-in-chief of the theological and Church journal "Vartija" (The Watchman) from 1919 Pietilä sharply criticized the tendencies of his time and tried to draw sharp theological limits. In the polemics of this periodical both noble Christian points of view and almost reckless reform tendencies were to be found. Pietilä's rich devotional literature also merits attention, especially "Synnin hätä ja Jumalan rauha" (Conviction of Sin and the Peace of God) so helpful for spiritual welfare.

It was probably due to Pietilä's character that his theological work was done in rather great isolation. He had but little contact with the theologians of Scandinavia, nor did he expect much from them: he followed Johansson's footsteps in his criticism of Söderblom. In his Prolegomena of Dogmatics his opinion of the task of theology differed completely from that of the Lund School: on the basis of its own principles dogmatics is a study "de Deo et rebus divinis". He did not demand the separation of research and preaching as radically as Swedish theology in his time; in this respect he may even be considered distantly related to Barth and Brunner although he did not approve of the principles of dialectic theology, his acceptance of which was hindered by his thorough acquaintance with non-Christian religions and mysticism. The special theological questions on which he independently has had most to say are "the doctrine of God, the doctrine of sin and grace, the relation of justification to regeneration, eschatology and ethics" (Sormunen). As shown by this list Pietilä tried to solve the central religious and

practical problems; there is the tendency to unite theology with a practical life of faith which he saw in the piety of the common people.

In his doctrine of God Pietilä criticizes Ritschl severely, seeing in his theology — as well as in Harnack's — continued attempts of the age of Enlightenment to dilute religion. God is an absolute Personality the most outstanding features of whose Being are spirituality, holiness, and love. Holiness is not to be more important than love (R. Otto), both are equally essential, as in Jesus' own expression "Holy Father" (John 17). Very realistic and effective is Pietilä's presentation of sin. Sin is always sin against Heaven — guilt — and it has both a sensual and a spiritual side, although the emphasis may be on one or the other. Pietilä's desire to keep to a complete Gospel appears in his opinion that only full grace can save from sin radically apprehended. The essence of the Gospel is forgiveness: here Pietilä genuinely follows Luther. The stress laid by Pietilä on confession of sins to obtain the peace of God probably originates partly in the revival movement of Laestadius. He rejects a one-sided forensic conception of justification. "In the history of theology no bigger mistake has ever been made than when the new life has been separated from faith and justification" (Christian Dogmatics III, p. 428) but nevertheless the close connection of "declaring righteous" and "making righteous" must not endanger the Christian's certainty of salvation. The spur of the Christian's continued life in faith — faith in Pietilä's sense is identical with Christianity as a whole — is that forgiveness constantly produces fresh thankfulness from which issue the main Christian virtues: love, truth, humility, holiness, and freedom.

Lastly, Pietilä considered the evangelical conception of faith purely spiritual. It was probably due to this that he considered the sacraments far less important in man's relation to God than the present evangelical High Church circles do,

although he by no means disregarded the sacraments; in his opinion they belong to the fulness of the evangelical doctrinal tradition which he wished to maintain. But Pietilä was fundamentally a very Low Church theologian.

His theology was not of the nature to produce a school. He was not the advocate of a special view and he did not emphasize such a programme in the Prolegomena as would have created followers among his pupils. Johansson formed a school. Nevertheless Pietilä's influence on the present generation of Churchmen in Finland has been very great. It may perhaps be said that after Rosenqvist's time he strengthened the view adopted earlier by Finnish systematic theology — that theology is after all not concerned with ideas or opinions, is not a constructive view of the world; the theologian is always in existential relationship to the living God. Here there is at the same time the closest association with Luther's fundamental aims.

Systematic theology after Pietilä offers an interesting picture particularly of the reaction here to Scandinavian theological trends, but also of Finland's own special tasks, especially with regard to the continued interest in the revival movements. Among Pietilä's pupils the work of *Oskar Alander* was of short duration. He wrote on subjects which had been already dealt with by Granfelt and Ingman: the doctrine of salvation of later Finnish Pietism and also the wrath of God (1927 and 1931). *A. A. Ahtola's* exegetic and christological study "Jeesuksen kaste" 1931 (The Baptism of Jesus) was followed by an extensive work "Barthilaisen teologian perusteet" 1937 (The Principles of Barth's theology). *Veikko Päivänsalo* was given by Pietilä a subject for study which had interested the latter for decades and on which he had written a theological historical monograph, viz. the Revelation of God; Päivänsalo's work was "Jumalan ilmoitus, sen olemus ja merkitys" 1931 (God's Revelation, its Essence and Importance). *E. W. Pakkala* took part in the discussion on

the relationship of an eschatological (Lutheran) and a Christian social (Reformed) conception of the Kingdom of God with his work "*Jumala ja hänen valtakuntansa tuleminen*" 1927 (God and the Coming of His Kingdom). *Sigfrid Siren* stands for a Blumhardtian conception of the Kingdom of God in "*Uskonnoton maailma — maallistunut uskonto*" 1937 (A Godless World — a Secularized Religion). As early as 1922 *K. H. Seppälä* wrote on subjects between New Testament theology and dogmatics in "*Piirteitä apostoli Paavalin kristologiasta*" (Characteristics of St Paul's Christology). *Hj. A. Paunu*'s work "*Paavalin pelastusnäkemys*" 1932 (St Paul's Conception of Salvation), although inspired by *Pietilä*, is chiefly New Testament theology. *Lauri Apajalahti* first studied New Testament mysticism which resulted in "*Piirteitä Paavalin Kristusmystiikasta*" 1926 (The mystical Life in Christ according to St Paul), and afterwards concentrated on the important problem of the theological legacy of the 19th century: "*Ilmoitus ja historia Schleiermacherin jälkeisessä teologiassa*" 1939 (Revelation and History in Post-Schleiermacherian Theology). *Apajalahti* is at present the best expert on Kähler in Finland. *Tuure V. Toivio* wrote about Luther's conception of the Holy Communion: "*Tämä on minun ruumiini*" 1940 (This is my Body) and *Aarne Astala* about the History of Atheism 1939.

The interest taken in Finland in Scandinavian discussions appears most clearly among the theologians who continued *Pietilä*'s work at the University of Helsinki, the leading personalities being *Yrjö J. E. Alanen* and *Eino Sormunen*. Through the work of these men systematic theology has now attracted wider circles of our theologians probably than ever before.

Alanen's dissertation was "*Tutkimuksia sovitusopin alalta I*" 1932 (Studies of the Atonement); the second part appeared in the same year. After treating the most important aspects of the Atonement *Alanen* arrives at the conclusion

that the opinion of the Swede G. Aulén on Irenaeus' theory of the Atonement is to some extent one-sided and that, in disregarding the suffering of Christ under divine punishment and the wrath of God, Aulén does not consider the fulness of biblical revelation. In his book "Luonnollinen ja kristillinen rakkaus" 1934 (Natural Love and Christian Love) Alanen studies A. Nygren's view of "agape" and considers that this cannot be considered an "unmotivated" love to the extent assumed by Nygren. God loves the sinner because he belongs to God. However, Alanen's essential field of work has become cultural ethics in which he — as the Professor of theological Ethics and a social politician — takes a particular interest. The following works are the result: "Kristinusko ja kulttuuri" 1933 (Christianity and Culture), "Kilvoittelijoita ja voittajia" 1938 (Fighters and Winners); questions aroused by the Second World War are discussed in "Miekka ja risti" 1940 (The Sword and the Cross), "Usko ja ihmisyy" 1942 (Faith and Humanity), and "Yksilö ja yhteisö" 1942 (The Individual and the Community). "Revolution or Reformation" published in English 1946, and a comprehensive work on Finland's great men "Kansamme tienviitoittajia" 1944 (Our National Pioneers) indicate Alanen's familiarity with the history of literature and show on what cultural factors healthy patriotism and the civic virtues are based. All these works are characterized by an ability derived from unusually wide reading and deep practical knowledge. Besides all this he is much interested in ancient cultures as well as in the history of the English Labour Party. "Kirkko ja yhteiskunnallinen uudistus" 1946 (The Church and Social Reform) discusses current social policies and here Alanen continues Rosenqvist's and Pietilä's work as expounders of social questions. On slightly different lines is the historical study "Kristinusko ja luonnontieteet" 1945 (Christianity and Natural Science) where Alanen deals with the trend of natural science away from materialism and

mechanism. More purely theological are the extensive biography of Gustaf Johansson (1947) which is more concerned with this great man's views based on Beckian biblicism than with the outward details of his life, and the Luther-study published early in Alanen's career "Das Gewissen bei Luther" (1934). His theological views are very independent, he speaks of a "prophetic empiricism" in the light of which the world of Christian revelation is organically bound up with the experience of the individual and of the Church. On this basis he combines a firm biblicism — from his youth up he had been a personal friend of Johansson — with empiric scientific study. Being for many years the editor-in-chief of the Christian newspaper "Kotimaa", he has greatly influenced the opinions of Finnish churchgoers.

Sormunen, first Professor of Dogmatics and Ethics, later Bishop of Kuopio, after Pietilä's death directed Finnish systematic theology to the problems of the modern study of Luther and hitherto his greatest importance as a theologian probably lies in Luther-research. Associating himself mainly with recent Swedish and German investigators Sormunen has studied the young Luther's spiritual tribulations (*Anfechtungen*) and his path to an evangelical conception of faith. The first part of the work "Jumalan armo" 1932—1934 (The Grace of God) contains a dogmatic and historical survey from the New Testament to the end of the Middle Ages, the second, Luther's doctrine of grace. The watchword "Simul iustus et peccator" is crystallized in Sormunen's work as Luther's central message and in its light he draws clear lines on the one hand for the doctrinal fallacies that have occurred within Lutheranism itself and, on the other, for the doctrine of grace of the Roman Church. Characteristic of Sormunen is the ease with which he sees essential achievements in the works of other investigators and the organic course of the development of ideas in the history of dogma. His second study of Luther is concerned with the

principles of the latter's ethics (*Die Eigenart der Lutherischen Ethik* 1934). In several articles Sormunen has also dealt with the doctrines of Luther, the chief achievements of modern Luther investigation, and the tasks with which Lutheranism is still faced; these have been published in the works "*Kansankirkko ja luterilaisuuden henki*" 1936 (*The National Church and the Lutheran Spirit*), and "*Kerjäläisiä me olemme*" 1947 (*Beggars we are*). How fruitfully the study of Luther's intentions affects practical preaching is shown in many popular devotional books by Sormunen, for instance "*Etsivä armo*" 1933 (*God's Seeking Grace*). He has also published a short description of Luther's life "*Uskon mies*" 1937 (*A Man of Faith*), and one on the Order of Salvation "*Elämän tie*" 1939 (*The Way of Life*).

Sormunen's later period has been passed largely in writing essays on cultural ethics. The secularism of to-day and the primitivism destructive of culture as well as other loosening of morals have led to the exposition of principles in which he has thrown light on the mental structure of our time, above all in his collections of essays "*Selvyttä kohti I—III*" 1936—1940 (*Towards Clarity*), and in his publications during and after the war "*Ahdinon aikoina*" 1942 (*In Times of Stress*), "*Uskon varassa*" 1944 (*Leaning on Faith*), "*Omalla pohjalla*" (On our own Ground), "*Ihmisyys elää*" 1946 (*Humanity Lives*), and "*Kirkkotarhaa ja kulttuurimaata*" (*Churchyard and Civilized Land*). Three booklets dealing with Baptism, Confirmation and Marriage, and some books of meditations and memoirs show his productivity: of the latter are: "*Täss' ajassa muuttellevassa*" 1946 (*These Variable Times*) and "*Lapsuus maakylässä*" 1946 (*Childhood in a Country Village*). Sormunen writes easily: the words bubble forth and give also aesthetic pleasure to the reader.

Sormunen's ideas were at first close to the Lund School, but he has later been more critical of it. In Scandinavia A. Runestam is probably most like him in ideas. His later pro-

duction, like that of Alanen, is in many respects coloured by recent exigencies. The distress of the war, the great suffering of Finland, and the continual external uncertainty have compelled these theologians to remind their people of the principles of God's rulership of the world and to seek what is most essential in Christianity and at the same time comforting in the midst of suffering. There has been no time in Finland in recent years to study peripheral questions; it has been a question of life and death. This situation has had serious adverse effects on theology because persons with the necessary qualifications have not started extensive studies requiring many years of work but have written according to the demands of the time.

Like Alanen and Sormunen, the youngest generation of Finnish systematicians have worked hard. A prominent figure among these is *Lennart Pinomaa* who — with Sormunen — is the most remarkable Luther scholar in Finland. After a thorough study of Luther's conception of God's wrath (*Der Zorn Gottes in der Theologie Luthers* 1938) he began to investigate Luther's reformatory crisis which he expounded by analyzing in detail Luther's works in "*Der existentielle Charakter der Theologie Luthers*" 1940. Here Pinomaa maps out the origin of Luther's theology as the latter disengaged himself from the intellectualism of the Roman Church. His third work on Luther is a collection of articles called "*Luther-tutkielmia*" 1939 (*Studies of Luther*), and there is also a fourth, a monograph on sanctification, "*Uusi elämä*" 1942 (*The New Life*), in which the Reformed line of sanctification and the Lutheran view of new life emphasizing justification are treated together. One of the merits of this book is the introduction of Kohlbrügge to Finnish readers. Other works by Pinomaa are a study of Augustine's social ethics "*Jumalan valtakunta ja maallinen yhteisö Augustinuksen teoksessa De civitate Dei*" 1941 (*The Kingdom of God and the earthly community in St Au-*

gustine's work *De civitate Dei*), and the popular books "Kristillisyyden elämän voimana" 1941 (Christianity as a Life Force) and "Kristikunnan suuria julistajia" (Great Preachers of Christianity). Pinomaa has identified himself with modified views of the Lund School in questions relating to theological principles and in his conception of the relationship of Law and the Gospel. His work is characterized by great exactness in details of research.

A firm adherent of the Lund School is *Olavi Castrén* who also read his theological dissertation in that town; his studies are concerned with the great men of the history of dogma: "Bernhard von Clairvaux. Zur Typologie des mittelalterlichen Menschen" 1938, "Tuomas Akvinolainen ja Uusi Testamentti" 1942 (Thomas Aquinas and the New Testament), "Die Bibeldeutung Calvins" 1946. Castrén studies the views of these men in the light of the New Testament, finding especially in the first two a radical divergence from original Christianity. Medieval Catholic Christianity outside Finland has attracted fairly little attention here, so the studies of Castrén fill an important gap. His fourth work is a collection of essays on the history of religion "Uhri ja rukous" 1947 (Offering and Prayer). — *W. A. Schmidt's* work "Die Kirche bei Irenaeus" (1939) belongs to the history of dogma but its writer has since made Church history his special interest.

Rather in contrast to the theological lines of Pinomaa and Castrén is the work done by *K. V. L. Jalkanen*, *Osmo Alaja* and *Uuras Saarnivaara*. Jalkanen began his theological work with a critical study of the theology of the "Schöpfungsordnungen" called "Luomisjärjestykset ja niiden rajat Raamatun valossa" 1939 (The Orders of Creation and their Limits in the light of the Bible) — the work includes also a severe criticism of the so-called "German Religion" — to concentrate later on Barth. "Karl Barthin käsitys teologian tehtävästä" 1947 (Karl Barth's Idea of the Function of Theology) is one of the most interesting books in modern Finnish

theology. Jalkanen has a very independent opinion of the development in Barth's theology: he distinguishes four stages in it. The work mentioned above comprises only the first two, i.e. Barth's earliest period from 1909 to 1916 and the second from 1916 to 1924 consisting of a critical and a hypercritical phase. Without being in any way an unconditional adherent of Barth, Jalkanen — thoroughly familiar with Barth from about 20 year's research — is able to illustrate his ideas in a way which should not be neglected in future studies of Barth. It is to be hoped that when the remaining parts are published the work can be translated into one of the more important languages. — Osmo Alaja has studied Tertullian: "*Piirteitä Tertullianuksen pyhityskäsityksestä*" 1944 (*Aspects of Tertullian's Conception of Sanctification*). His chief contention is that the evangelical interpretation of Tertullian that has prevailed hitherto (e.g. Seeberg, Nygren) has approached its subject in a too one-sided way from the viewpoint of the Doctrine of Grace, when it should have considered that the key to an understanding of Tertullian is his struggle against the secularism then gaining ground in the Church and emphasized the importance of sanctification in that light. — Uuras Saarnivaara is Finland's latest Luther scholar and, compared with the rest, rather a revolutionary. His principal contention in the work "*Syntisen tie vanhurskauteen ja pyhyyteen I*" 1947 (*The Path of the Sinner to Righteousness and Holiness*) implies that Luther's decisive discovery did not occur during his lectures on the Psalms as generally assumed by recent research. According to him the period from 1512 to 1518 is the "dawn of Reformation"; the "tower experience" when Luther realized the meaning of the biblical idea of justification was not until the end of 1518. Saarnivaara's chain of arguments is rather convincing and his work — shortly to appear in English in the U. S. — will no doubt arouse discussion. It may be mentioned that the second and third part of this work are

now (March 1948) in the hands of the printer. Other books by Saarnivaara are "Kaste uustestamentillisena ja kansán-kirkkoamme koskevana kysymyksenä" 1935 (Baptism as a New Testament Question and as concerns the Church of Finland), two booklets on confession of sins, and a history of Laestadius' movement in the U. S. (1947).

Finnish students of Luther include also *L. P. Tapaninen* who has published a work on Luther's conception of the Church (1942), and *Olavi Tarvainen* who wrote "Conformitas Christi-ajatus Lutherin teologiassa" 1943 (The Idea of Conformity with Christ in Luther's theology). The latter deals with questions studied by Regin Prenter about the same time in Denmark. *K. S. Laurila*, whose long life's work was that of an aesthetician, concentrated finally on theological questions and wrote a study of Luther and Tolstoy: "Tolstoi ja Luther vuorisaañnan selittäjinä" 1944 (Tolstoy and Luther as Interpreters of the Sermon on the Mount). Laurila's other works in systematic theology are "Eräs ikuisen taistelun muudan vaihe" 1937 (One Phase of the Eternal Struggle) which evaluates the controversy of two poets of the 19th century (Runeberg and Stenbäck) regarding the Hellenic-Christian and the "pietistic" view of life. "Ajan ja iäisyyden kysymyksiä" 1942 (Questions of Time and Eternity), and "Taistelu taiteesta ja siveellisyydestä" 1938 (Art versus Morals).

It has been stated already that the special mission of Finnish systematic theology has been to study the religious revival movements of this country. These movements, which have no counterpart in other evangelical countries are: the Pietism of Savo and Pohjanmaa, the so-called "evangelical" anti-pietistic movement which separated from the former under the leadership of F. G. Hedberg, the so-called "Prayers' movement" of which Henrik Renqvist was the first prominent leader, and the revival movement of Laestadius which has spread widely in the North of Finland. A review

of Finnish theology would be very incomplete if these movements were not treated separately. So far this kind of research has been done chiefly from the point of view of Church history (*Matthias Akiander, Martti Ruuth, Ilmari Salomies, Lauri Takala, Tor Krook, Olavi Kares, Martti E. Miettinen*, etc.), but in the last few decades systematicians have joined the others. To start with "Laestadianism" three works by *Aulis Zidbäck* should be mentioned first: "Lars Levi Laestadius' kristillisyysnäkemykset" 1937 (Lars Levi Laestadius' view of Christianity), "Juhani Raattamaa, Pohjanmaan suurin maallikkosaarnaaja" 1941 (Juhani Raattamaa, the Greatest Lay Preacher of Scandinavia), "Juhani Raattamaa eräiden Lutherin ydinnäkemyksien uudistajana" 1941 (Juhani Raattamaa renews some of Luther's Essential Ideas). According to Zidbäck Laestadius represented certain opinions inclining to Catholic mysticism, but Raattamaa more purely Lutheran ideas. The question has aroused discussion and Zidbäck's interpretation of Laestadius is by no means accepted by all. Laestadius' work on the philosophy of religion and his theory of the Atonement have been studied by *Erik Bäckström*: "Lars Levi Laestadius religionsfilosofiska arbetet Dårhushjernet" 1939 (The Bedlamite, a work on the philosophy of religion by Lars Levi Laestadius), "Lars Levi Laestadius försoningssyn" 1945 (Lars Levi Laestadius' Theory of the Atonement). *Oiva Virkkala* has studied the so-called "newer" Laestadian revival: "Alkulahteille" 1945 (To the Original Sources). — Among the interpreters of the Pietism of Savo and Pohjanmaa is *Olavi Tarvainen* and also *Oskar Alander* who has been referred to already; Tarvainen compared the views of Paavo Ruotsalainen, the chief leader of this movement, and Luther: "Paavo Ruotsalainen als lutherischer Christ" 1944, and he also studied Mikael Agricola, the Church Reformer of Finland in the 16th century, from the point of view of "Finnish Christianity": "Herännyt ennen heränneitä" 1944 (Pietist before the Pietists). The

early origins of Finnish pietistic movements are dealt with by *Erkki Kansanaho* in his study "Hallen pietismin vaikutus Suomen varhaisempaan herännäisyyteen" 1947 (The Influence of the Pietism of Halle on Earlier Finnish Pietism), and in illustration of their reviving influence on present theology *Pauli Linnasaari's* work "Uskonnolliset ahdistukset ja sielunhoito" 1947 (Spiritual tribulations and the Shepherding of Souls) may be mentioned. — In the ideas of the leader of the "Prayers' movement" *Ilmari Salomies* has found interesting points of contact with mysticism (Henrik Renvqvist I—II 1930—1931). — *Lauri Takala* deserves notice as an investigator of Hedberg's anti-pietistic movement; besides his works on Church history he has written the *Ordo Salutis* of "the Evangelical": "Pelastusjärjestys" 1926 (Order of Salvation). — Of this group — although not inherently belonging to it — are *W. Schmidt's* work "Die Pfingstbewegung in Finnland" 1935 (The Pentecost-Movement in Finland) and *Aapeli Jokipii's* work "Teosofinen liike Suomessa" 1937 (The Theosophical Movement in Finland).

The central position of systematic theology among theological disciplines is seen in the fact that, in addition to the students of Church history mentioned above, representatives of some other theological fields have also been interested in these questions, especially the exegetes *E. G. Gulin*, *Raf. Gyllenberg* and *Aimo T. Nikolainen*. Gulin whose theological interests have been largely concerned with apology has written a popular dogmatics "Me uskomme" 1947 (We Believe), and before that "Onko nykyajan tiede ristiriidassa kristinuskon kanssa?" 1919 (Does Modern Science conflict with the Christian Faith?), "Kahden maailman kansalaisena" 1929 (A Citizen of Two Worlds), "Guds värld och vår" 1931 (God's World and ours), "Tieteellinen ja kristillinen elämänkäsitys" 1933 (The Scientific and the Christian View of Life), and the study "Risti ja todellisuus" 1938 (The Cross and Reality). Gulin also revised *Pietilä's* work "Jeesuksen siveysoppi ja

nykyaika" (The Moral Teaching of Jesus and our Time) and wrote studies on the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount. Gyllenberg has studied the conception of faith in the New Testament (*Pistis* I—II, 1922); he was one of the first to bring Barthianism to the notice of Finnish theologians and Nikolainen has studied the concept "my neighbour" as found in the Bible, belief in the Resurrection, and the anthropology of the Bible. The work of all these three exegetes shows that they have taken a greater interest in New Testament theology than in linguistic questions. Here I should like to add *A. F. Puukko's* study of the social principles of the Prophets (2nd ed. 1948) and *Aarre Lauha's* work on the conception of Kenosis in the New Testament (1939). — Of the practical theologians *Aarni Voipio* has studied trance preachers and other ecstatic phenomena; *Aleksi Lehtonen* has dealt with the doctrine of sacraments in his monograph "Kirkon pyhät toimitukset" 1931 (The Sacred Rituals of the Church) and *Martti Simojoki* with the question of the Church.¹⁾

¹⁾ Here I venture to add a short list of my own works divided into three groups. On the general history of religion and comparative science of religion: "Anteeksiantamukseen perustuva uskonnollinen turvallisuudentila" 1934 (The Religious Safety based on Forgiveness of Sins), "Tuomion evankeliumi" 1934 (The Gospel of Judgment), "Salatiede päivänvalossa. Steinerin antroposofia ja kristinusko" 1937 (Occult Science illuminated. Steiner's Anthroposophy and Christianity), "Hellenistinen synkretismi Uuden Testamentin aikana" 1939 (Hellenistic Syncretism during the Time of the New Testament), "Itä ja länsi. Intialaisen panteismin ja kristinuskon vertailua" 1940 (East and West. A comparison of Indian Pantheism and Christianity), "Kohtalousko ja kaitselemusko" 1939 (Belief in Fate and Belief in Providence), "Tuhatvuotinen valtakunta uskonnonhistorian ja kristillisen opinkehityksen valossa" 1944 (The Millennium in the light of the History of Religion and of the Development of Christian Doctrine), "Kristinusko ja uskonnot" 1947 (Christianity and Religions). On Finnish religious move-

To complete this historical survey of systematic theology in Finland a few words are required on the common features to be found in this theology and its most important groups of problems.

The theology of a small country has not always been able to orientate itself abroad as much as is desirable, nor to concentrate on the actual questions arousing interest in theological discussions at any given time. The comparatively few persons who have participated in this work have had to spend a considerable part of their time in teaching, preparing text-books, and in as many-sided theological writings as possible in order to supply their own people with the necessary theological literature. The representatives of systematic theology have also been obliged to take part in the

ments: "Uuden elämän etiikka. Piirteitä Gustaf Johanssonin siveysopista" 1940 (The Ethics of Regenerate Life. Aspects of Gustaf Johansson's Moral Teaching), "Suomalainen kristillisuus Wilh. Malmivaaran edustamana" 1944 (Finnish Christianity as represented by Wilh. Malmivaara), "Kaste ja usko. Piirteitä Fr. G. Hedbergin kristillisyydestä" 1947 (Baptism and Faith. Aspects of Fr. G. Hedberg's Christianity). Concerned more definitely with systematic theology are: "Laki kristityn elämässä" 1941 (The Law in the Christian's Life), "Das Strafleiden Christi. Beitrag zur Diskussion über die Typeneinteilung der Versöhnungsmotive" 1941, "Kärsimyksestä" 1941 (On Suffering), "Yksilön pelastuminen ja Jumalan valtakunta" 1943 (Individual Salvation and the Kingdom of God — evaluation of the Social Gospel), "Oppi ja elämä" 1943 (Doctrine and Life), "Historian Jumala" 1945 (The God of History), "Kristilliset kirkot ja lahkot" 1945 (Christian Churches and Sects; Symbolics). Popular works in this group are: "Tutkisteluja I—II" 1933—1937 (Studies), a collection of articles "Usko ja elämä" 1946 (Faith and Life), and "Armonjärjestyksestä. Maallikkodogmatiikan ääri-
viivoja" 1947 (Of the Order of Salvation: Outline of a popular Dogmatics). — Smaller works are the studies of Hybris as a concept in religious history, of the different forms of Syncretism, of the different characteristics of Finnish Pietism, and of the position of Lutheranism to-day.

discussion on the practical religious and ethical questions of the day to a greater extent than for instance the Church historians and the exegetes. The majority of works on systematic theology are written in Finnish or Swedish and have consequently as a rule not aroused attention abroad. The history of Finland's systematic theology hitherto has been more a history of individual investigators than a definite development of ideas.

However, the subject has had in Finland, as far as I can see, a few characteristic features during the past one hundred years. The most conspicuous has perhaps been its *concentration on questions of the Doctrine of Salvation*. This seems to show on the one hand how firmly the Finnish theology is anchored in Luther, and on the other hand, its intimate association with the revival movements of the country. Finnish theologians have generally wished to serve the Church in its most important fight; the work of theologians has not been a struggle with interesting problems in a way to make theology only an academic search for truth or perhaps even a goal in itself. The religiousness of the Finnish people is to some extent introvert, silently meditating, and chiefly directs attention to the old basic question: how does a sinner become a child of God? It is scarcely wrong to state that during the last hundred years the question of justification has been relatively more discussed by theology in Finland than in many other countries. Here I refer to what has been said above about theological work in the middle of the 19th century. When in 1844 the separation had taken place in the so-called later Pietism (led by Paavo Ruotsalainen) because of difference in the interpretation of the doctrine of justification, this question took a central position in the theological discussion and kept it for 50 years. One of the most noteworthy phases of this discussion was the reaction caused by Fr. G. Hedberg's (leader of the so-called "evangelical" movement) "*Uskonoppi autuuteen*", first edition 1843

(The Way of Faith unto Salvation). The opponents maintained that, in this work as well as in the preaching of the "evangelical" trend as a whole, the need for repentance was disregarded and people were led to believe too easily, "at once" and without the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit. The whole world is not only reconciled but also justified on the Cross. The reaction came from two directions, first from the Pietism of Savo and Pohjanmaa where emphasis was laid on a "longing" faith instead of a "possessing" faith, on the necessity of an inner knowledge of Christ and on a personal contact with Christ, not only on the accepting of a certain theoretical truth of Salvation; secondly from the Beckians who had adopted their leader's ethical doctrine of justification. A writer of the "evangelical" line was, besides Hedberg himself, *E. T. Gestrin* who, basing himself on Theodosius Harnack and Philippi among others, wrote both against Beck, O. F. Myrberg and A. W. Ingman. It has been stated already that Granfelt tried to mediate as was consistent with his theological principles, but Ingman and after him Johansson could not suit themselves to the easy dogmatics of the "evangelical". In connection with this discussion the doctrine of justification has been so thoroughly considered in Finland that it is probably difficult to find any essential new points of view. To-day it is possible even from a distance to study dispassionately the one-sidedness of both Paavo Ruotsalainen and Hedberg and to illumine the question with modern Luther research. The interest aroused by the question itself has scarcely declined, however; the two spiritual movements, which in their time were sharply opposed, are still active here and even the academic theology of Finland has continually taken great interest in questions concerned with the way of salvation. One of the very rare exceptions was Rosenqvist whose concentration of religious philosophy and ethics turned his interests in other directions.

The second characteristic of Finnish theology is closely connected to the first: this theology works in *living contact with congregational life*. Theologians on their side receive impressions from people who live in Christ and who from personal experience know the truth and power of Christianity and who therefore, to some extent, can appraise what is said about Christ. These people, on the other hand, receive help from theology in questions of intellect. The common Low Church trends in Finnish theology lead to this democratic orientation.

A third general characteristic of Finnish systematic theology is its *biblicism*. In this respect even the two opposed lines of revival described above unite. As early as in the beginning of the 19th century Lars Stenbäck stressed the importance of the formal principle of Lutheranism while desiring to confine theology to the faith experiences of the Church. It can be said that in the Bible question Finnish systematic theology has generally been conservative. Gustaf Johansson's radical attitude has influenced it up to the present, notwithstanding the fact that naturally the problems of historical Bible research have been discussed as in all other countries. The historical outlook introduced by Rosenqvist, Kaila etc., did not lead to that kind of liberalism in which explanation of the Bible by the Bible itself was not the chief aim. It is otherwise interesting to note that theology in Finland has wished to be clearly biblical since the 17th century. One of the greatest achievements of the later period of orthodoxy in the 17th century in Finland was the extensive Bible commentary in three volumes by the Bishops *Gezelius* senior and junior which for a long time was used in Scandinavia. This biblicism seems to have been influenced by Finland's geographical position exposing her to danger through the centuries; a foundation has been sought that holds good under all circumstances and varying conditions.

A fourth general characteristic of Finnish systematic theo-

logy — as far as I can see — is the interest it takes in *cultural ethics*. As early as at the beginning of the 19th century there arose the question whether the revival movements already described affected cultural life by concentrating on salvation; there is a certain danger of narrowness of outlook in all such concentrated Christianity. The theologians who sprang from these revival movements in this matter tried to show a real culture of the heart. If the principles set by God for life are shaken the entire culture is also shaken. Granfelt's mediating and relatively liberal attitude — his booklets on the right of dancing may be mentioned as a curiosity again — was followed by a firm stand against the liberalism of the 19th century, here again led by G. Johansson. Yet the Christian principles necessary for culture were also stressed by Rosenqvist who actually represented a different fundamental attitude. Later the Christian cultural front, after a short critical period at the turn of the century, was held by Pietilä, Alanen and Sormunen. This does not mean that peripheral problems attracted systematic theology, but on the contrary shows its aptitude for living and its continual importance in questions on which the life of the country largely depends. If these fields are considered in a definitely biblical spirit, giving the question of individual salvation as well as eschatological hope their due share, the cultural and ethical interest does not become a mere improving of the world and superficial optimism. To my mind Finnish theology has escaped these dangers, except for a few writers of the Social Gospel. — Here there is no reason to enter into details of special questions of cultural ethics which have greatly interested Finnish systematicians. The problem of the relation between the State and the Church is one of them (The Church of Finland is a Lutheran Established Church). At the turn of the century theological discussions took place on so-called "compulsory communicating". According to the Church Law only persons who had been to the confirmation

classes and to Holy Communion could be married by the Church. This opinion was considered contrary to the principle of religious liberty accepted in point of fact by the Church Law of 1869 and on the basis of which a so-called Dissenters' Act had been passed in 1889. (The Religious Liberty Act proper came into force in Finland as late as 1923.) G. Johansson and Rosenqvist strongly opposed compulsory communicating and in this struggle they nobly represented a theology which abhors any kind of oppression of the conscience.

We can now return to the present problems of systematic theology, and here perhaps the discussion centering round some questions of general theological principles should be mentioned first. The relation between metaphysics and theology was not solved by Rosenqvist's studies; it has continued to occupy the young generation, primarily because of the opinions of the Lund School. Theologians since Pietilä seem to be more inclined to admit that dogmatics has its own methods and a special position among the sciences than to restrict its functions to the study of faith in the sense of the Schleiermacherian immanence. Another controversial question has been raised by Pietism: Has the theology of the unregenerate (*theologia irrogenitorum*) any possibility of scientific success? Even if it leads to reliable results at the periphery, its possibilities cease when existential questions are approached. Spiritual questions must be studied spiritually (1 Cor. 2). To many Finnish theologians it appears that efforts to make theology a subject of common argumentation with the profane sciences would lead not only to mistakes, but to theology becoming a goal in itself. Theology disengages itself from the needs and questions of congregational life more easily in countries which have not lived under the shadow of death; such experiences make theologians careful in speaking of aims and methods. With this is associated the question of God's word. In Finland

liberal Exegesis is not as widespread as in many other evangelical countries. Therefore attempts to separate God's work in Christ and the Bible as an account of it have not been as strong here as for instance in Sweden. God's Revelation is dynamic even in those words of the Bible which appear static but which God makes alive to people according to their needs. What in the Scriptures appears to be a statement, an explanation, a doctrine, is revelation as is the essential event which is described.

The doctrine of the Church has not attracted so much interest in Finland as in Scandinavia although some monographs on it have been written. This is probably due in part to the fact that the revival movements are Low Church. However, a growing interest in these questions may be noticed.

The most conspicuous theological moot point in the 1940's in Finland has been the question of the "tertius usus legis". Influenced by the Lund School, some theologians have wanted to deny this use increasing thereby the gulf between Luther and Melanchthon, between the living conception of the faith of Reformation proper and the formulae of orthodoxy. Those Finnish theologians who have taken a different stand have feared that this attitude also contains something of preconceived views such as there is for instance in Aulén's theory of the Atonement which does injustice to the persons of history of dogmas to be interpreted.

Objections may perhaps be raised against Finnish systematic theology on the ground that, since Pietilä's time, it has not represented any distinct school which is usually the case where a united front attempts to carry out a definite programme. It may be that the difficult external conditions of the Finns have hampered intellectual work in general, but it is probable on the other hand that Finnish theology, in accordance with the national character, has desired to advance cautiously and avoid extreme conclusions. It has been

more prudent to lay a foundation for the general work of a young theology by monographs from different spheres than to announce advanced programmes.

March 1948.

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was founded in 1891 to promote the publication of theological literature in the Finnish language. It published a few unnumbered issues in the 1890's and 50 numbered issues since 1900. The largest publication is S. Sirenus' illustrated description of the Church of England and its work in the big cities (*Kirkko ja suurkaupunkien seurakuntatyö Englannissa*, 472 p., 1917). In recent years its theological writings have increasingly concentrated on the History of Theology and Systematics, there being a special society for Exegesis. Church History has from the first been outside the scope of the Society. In 1939 the series *Theologia Fennica* was started for circulation abroad — as stated in the beginning of this issue. It is hoped to public a number regularly every year.

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